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which he fears will continue to exist; and he says that the question of slavery and abolition in the United States ought to have been regarded "as a part of the world-problem of the proletariat."

We believe that Mr. Ingram's denunciation of modern slavery is just, but that his understanding and his treatment of it, in the United States at least, are incomplete. To understand abolition, slavery itself must be understood as it appeared to the thoughtful American of a generation ago, South as well as North. It cannot be treated "off-hand" from general principles, nor can it be treated at second-hand, unless the authorities are, comparatively speaking, judicious. The books which Mr. Ingram cites as references for abolition belong, all save one, to the controversial literature of the abolition school. Different from the questions presented by the slavery of antiquity, and by serfdom, the question before the people in the states where there were many slaves was very largely a racial one. Selfishness certainly blinded many men, and pride and resentment at what was regarded as impertinent interference of abolitionists certainly influenced all, but the leading question to the good men and good masters, who were in a great majority, and who saw their servants well cared for and happy, was what would be the future both of the blacks and of the community, were slavery abolished. The student of slavery, in picturing it, ought to be able to-day to put himself, for a time, in the place of the conscientious Southern planter. After doing so, he will probably rejoice none the less that slavery is abolished, but he will hardly express himself as Mr. Ingram has, for example, in saying that "The Christian churches in the slave states scandalously violated their most sacred duty" in advocating the maintenance of slavery, etc. And to-day, too, there may be thrown back on the subject the light which comes from the years of Reconstruction, from the results of the grants of freedom and citizenship to the African race.

JEFFREY R. BRACKETT.

Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions in Europe and America.

By CHARLES BORGEAUD. Translated by Charles D. Hazen, Professor of History in Smith College. With an introduction by John M. Vincent, Associate of the Johns Hopkins University. (New York and London : Macmillan and Co. 1895. Pp. xxi, 353.)

MR. BORGEAUD is one of the few European students of political science who understand that the tendency of modern institutional forces is most clearly revealed in the New World. Europe, America, South Africa, Australia—whatever lands, in short, the Aryan man has acquired—all exhibit the same social phenomena. The civilized world is one. But the historic conditions have been such that the English-speaking parts of America have been able to work out those political ideas which we are apt to call modern both at an earlier date and in more logical form than

has been possible in other lands. This truth Mr. Borgeaud grasps, and his book is in fact, if not in form, a development of this theme.

The dominant social fact of the nineteenth century we should probably say is democracy. And the progress of political democracy implies merely the increasing transfer of sovereignty from smaller to larger classes in the community. In this process, historic governments have been destroyed, and new ones have been created. Governments, to be sure, are merely the agencies of sovereignty. But the new sovereign, the people, has learned that whoever controls the government is really the sovereign, and that it is quite easy for sovereignty to slip away from its owner into the hands of those who are meant to be merely its trustees. Hence in reconstructing political institutions it has not been enough to devise a new frame of government. It has been necessary, also, to provide adequate guarantees for the people against their agents, and, above all, to preserve to the people such a control over their government as may enable them at any time to alter or abolish it at will. And the progress of any nation in political institutions may almost exactly be marked by the perfection with which these several ends are attained in the organic law. More than a hundred years ago the Americans set out to solve the problem by means of carefully drafted written constitutions. The way had been paved for these by the royal charters which had been granted to the various colonies, so that it was easy for the colonies, when they had discarded the crown, to take the next step and draw up their own charters. The French followed the Americans in their methods, and the French Revolution, permeating nearly all Europe, led to a long series of written constitutions.

In all these the mode provided for constitutional revision shows plainly enough where sovereignty lies. And the more or less complete control which the people have over the process shows how far democracy has progressed. The American organic law is, in all respects, the most fully developed. The American idea is that the people are sovereign, and that a valid constitutional change implies a more or less direct expression of the popular will. This is secured in the states of the Union by a direct vote of the people. Nowhere does Mr. Borgeaud more plainly evince his comprehension of the American system than in his luminous treatment of the states.

The French idea is to delegate change in the organic law as well as in ordinary law to the usual legislative body without reference to the people. This is hardly in accord with the real French theory of popular sovereignty, and seems likely to be a temporary device. In fact, the present French constitution was made by a legislature chosen for quite a different purpose, and it has never received the direct assent of the people.

In the Germanic group of states, the constitution has been made a sort of compact between crown and people, and each has a voice in revision. Here it is plain that democracy is incomplete, and wherever a constitution is a royal charter, a mere grant from the benevolence of

the crown, it is clear enough that in theory, at least, democracy exists only by sufferance.

Mr. Borgeaud has grouped these various classes of constitutions very clearly. His book is a distinct contribution to a comprehension of the meaning and tendencies of modern political science, and he has more wisely handled the whole subject historically. A mere political anatomy is quite as lifeless as any other skeleton of dry bones. Professor Hazen's work, on the whole, has been done with spirit and accuracy. Here and there in the process of translation, back and forth, as might be expected, an occasional odd expression has crept in. Thus on page 153 the lower house of the New York legislature is called the "House of Representatives," instead of the "Assembly." And on pages 153-158 the "Council of Revision" which was provided in the first constitution of the Empire State is called by the peculiarly infelicitous name of "Committee of Amendments." "Whomsoever," on page 189, and "firstly," on page 190, are words which, as a mere matter of English, themselves need a council of revision.

HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia. By JAMES CURTIS BALLAGH, A.B. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 13th series, VI.-VII.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1895. Pp. 99.)

THE comprehensive, historic spirit which pervades this pamphlet entitles it to a candid consideration. I think it may be stated with truth that it is the first account approaching completeness of the subject of which it treats. Having pursued a similar line of investigation, I am glad to give the labors of Mr. Ballagh a warm personal endorsement. Some objection attaches, perhaps, to the title he employs; I think "service" is the proper word, and not "servitude," which is only another word for slavery. In most cases the service was based on consent, and Mr. Ballagh himself shows that the law bore harder on the workman in England than in Virginia. Indeed, the Rev. Hugh Jones (1724) asserted this fortunate condition of even the negroes.

The social equality among freemen in Virginia could never have been possible had the idea of slavery once attached to the white laborer afterwards made free. Everybody in the seventeenth century, except the king, was a *servant* in a certain way and, therefore, the term was no reproach. The word "slave" not only described a condition, but conveyed disgrace. It was common to apply the term "servant" to all medical and other apprentices, to all secretaries, factors, and agents, and to all employes in general. "Your obedient, humble servant" is still the language between equals. Theoretically, the severe laws mentioned by Mr. Ballagh, as regulating service in Virginia, applied to all servants, but in the same way now the law punishing murder applies to every person in the